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**SAUDI NATIONAL SECURITY**

**BY**

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## ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this research paper is to focus on Saudi National Security. I highlight geographic and historic factors that impact on threats to Saudi Arabia, and the objectives for providing security. I will discuss how to achieve these objectives, including military readiness and cooperation with other countries to guarantee Saudi security. This is to ensure interests which are vital to the industrial world as the result of a continued flow of oil with a reasonable price. I give my opinion about U.S. political strategy in the region to achieve stability in the Gulf Region.

## SAUDI NATIONAL SECURITY

■ Geography. Saudi Arabia occupies 80 percent of the Arabian Peninsula, covering 839,000 square miles of almost empty desert with 2,700 miles of territorial borders, 1,500 miles of sea coast on two bodies of water (the Red Sea to the West and the Arabian Gulf to the East) and bounded by seven countries. It is occupied by a population of only 16.9 million, about a quarter of whom are foreigners. "The total population is 16,929,294 of whom 12,304,835 (males 50.5%, females 49.5%) were Saudi Arabian citizens and 4,624, 459 (male 70.4%, females 29.6%) were foreign nationals."<sup>1</sup> Saudi Arabia is the main oil producer to the industrial world and other countries. It controls at least one fourth of the world's proven oil reserves.

■ National Security Strategy. In 1932 King Abdulaziz Al-Saud proclaimed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which covered an area approximately the territory of the present state. It was established as a country based on Islamic Law. The Quran (the Holy Book of Islam) the country's constitution and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed define the foundation of the nation and specify that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a sovereign Arab Islamic state whose religion is Islam and whose constitution is the Holy Quran and the Sunna of the Prophet."<sup>2</sup> As God says to the Prophet Mohammed, "we have sent down to thee the book explaining all things, a guide, a mercy and glad tidings to Muslims."<sup>3</sup>

• The Central Goals From National Security Strategy are:

- Protecting the religion and holy places.
- Protecting the country from any external attack.

- Protecting the economic resources (oil facilities and industrial plants).
- Providing internal security for citizens, foreigners and pilgrimages to the holy places.
- Cooperating with other countries for peace and human rights in the region and the rest of the world.

✓ • To achieve the National Security Goal:

- Fellow Islamic tenets in all government systems.
- Build friendly relationships with other countries and do not interfere in their internal affairs.
- Build strong armed-structures (modern, sufficient and well trained).
- Cooperate with regional and other countries to achieve stability and peace through numerous organizations:
  - the Gulf Cooperation Council.
  - the League of Arab States.
  - the Organization of Islamic Conference.
  - the United Nations.
  - the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
  - the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
  - Saudi Arabia is also a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

■ The Military Threats. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia had been exposed to few direct threats to its territory. In the past hostile actions have come from Yameni-based Egyptian air and naval units in 1962-1965. Yameni forces attacked Saudi border posts in 1969, 1973, and 1994.

Iran attack shipping in the Arabian Gulf and space of Saudi through Iraqi-Iranian War, 1980-1989.

Iraq's troops, which invaded Kuwait in August 1990, posed the gravest threat to Saudi Arabia's security. Oil producing eastern provinces, the principal source of national wealth, lay open to the Iraqi mechanized and armored divisions. And controlling Kuwaiti oilfields would give Iraqi access to larger oil revenues and controls over supply and oil market prices.

■ Directions of Threats in the Future. Saudi Arabia's national interest is limited to protecting the Islmaic Religion, its territory, and its main resources against any threat using tools such as political, economic, and lastly, military power. Saudi Arabia has lots of wealth and territory to defend and has few people to do it. It is surrounded by many countries and the relations between those countries are changeable. I expect the direction of future threats as:

- Iraq. It is north of Saudi Arabia. After the coup in Iraq in 1958, Saudi relations with Iraq have been the most problematic. Throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, Iraq supported political movements hostile to Saudi interests in the region. "Iraq organized the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Saudi people. This group was an off shoot of the Saudi National Liberation Front, and it was believed to have contacts in Western Europe..."<sup>4</sup> Saudi Arabia tried to contain the spread of Iraqi radicalism by strengthening its relations with Iran, Kuwait, Syria, and the United States. In 1975, Iraq began to moderate its foreign policies, a

change that lessened tensions between the two countries. The diplomatic relations were relatively cordial by the time the Iranian Revolution happened in 1979. Both countries felt threatened by the Iranians to export the revolution.

During the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s, Saudi Arabia declared its neutrality. "It helped Iraq in non-military ways with about 27 U.S. billion dollars. It also allowed Iraq to transport its oil through a pipeline going from the eastern region to the shores of Yanbu on the Red Sea. Iraq was able to transport two million barrels of oil per day through this pipeline -- courtesy of the Saudi Arabia government."<sup>5</sup> In August 1990, only two years after Iraq and Iran had agreed to cease hostilities, Iraq forces unexpectedly invaded and occupied Kuwait. Iraq's action posed a more direct and serious threat to Saudi security than any previous threat from Iran.

Saudi Arabia was involved directly in the war against Iraq during January and February 1991 in coalition of forces to liberate Kuwait implementing U.N. security council resolution. The Saudi air, navy and land bases served as the main staging areas for aerial strikes and ground attacks against Iraqi targets. Saudi armed forces participated in both bombing assaults and the ground offensive. Iraq responded by firing several Scud-B missiles at Saudi towns. Despite the crippling of Iraq military power during Desert Storm in 1991, it remained a potential adversary and long term security threat to Saudi Arabia. Most oil resources can be found along the Arabian Gulf coast, a short flight from Iraq's fighter bases and reachable by their armored and mechanized forces in hours. Consequently, post-war Saudi policy

focused on ways to contain potential Iraqi threats to the region. One element of the policy included support for Iraqi opposition forces that advocated the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's government and keep Iraq one country.

- Iran. It is the largest country in the region, with a population of 58 million. Iran attempts to extend its influence in the region. It lies to the east and northeast, only about fifteen minutes fly<sup>way</sup> time from the Saudi oilfield and petroleum installations, is rearming fast since its war with Iraq, and also seeks regional domination. It is buying a wide range of Russian and other forms of Soviet-type equipment. Before the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Saudi Arabia and Iran had cooperated on regional security issues despite their differences over specific policies, such as oil production quotas and occupation of U.A.E. islands in the Gulf. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 disrupted this shared interest in regional political stability. Shia Iranian revolutionary leaders called for the overthrow of all monarchies, and presented a serious threat to the regimes in the area. "Iran's internal difficulties pose the greater threat to regional stability because they may serve as a pretext for the Mullah's to undertake a campaign of terrorism to divert attention. High inflation and a migration of professionals have damaged prospects for economic, social, and educational renewal. Moreover, domestic upheaval could spill over into neighboring countries."<sup>6</sup> There have been riots among Saudi Shia in the Eastern Province. These may have been provoked by Iranian pilgrims since Tehran insists Iranians have a religious right and obligation to engage in political demonstrations

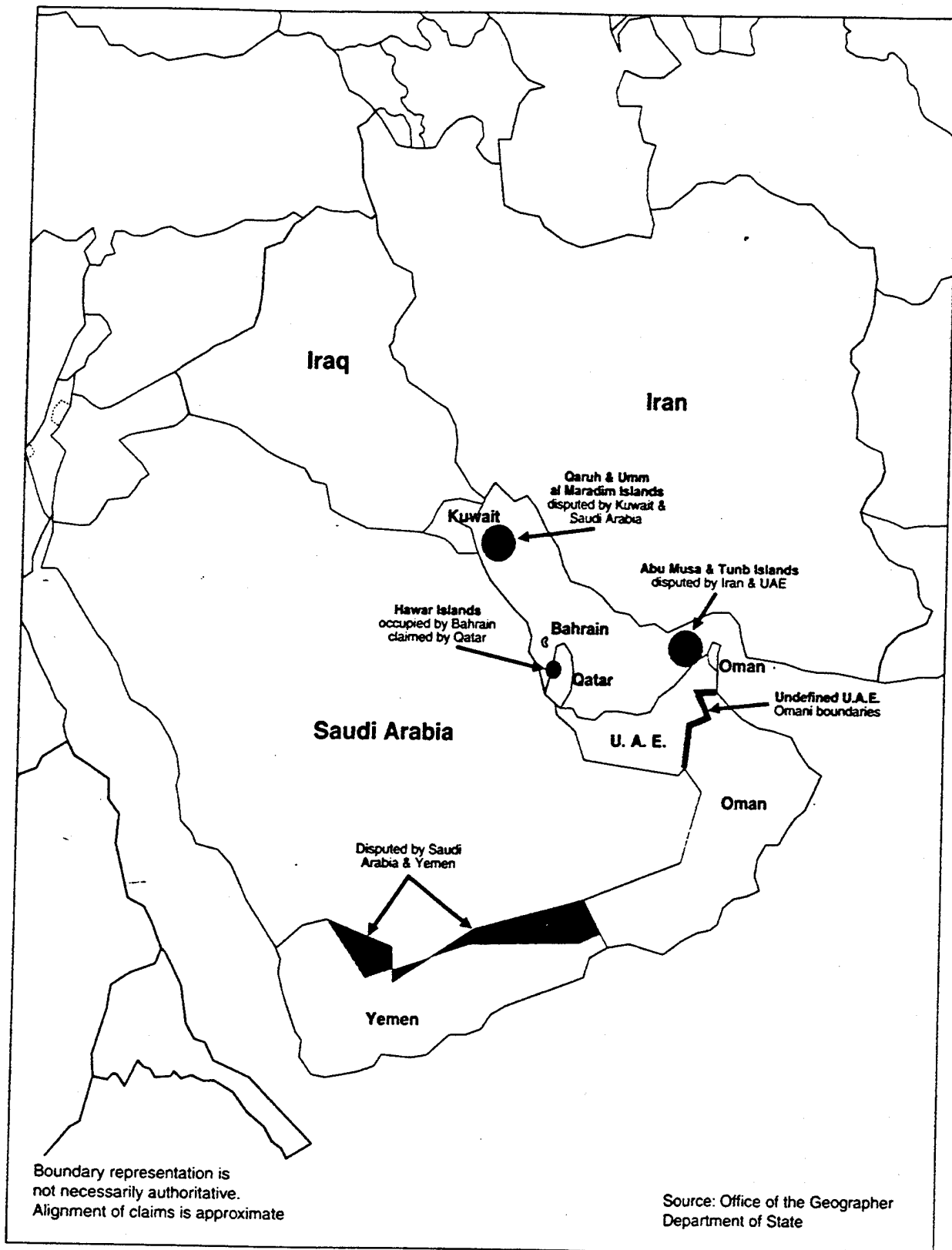
during the hajj. "During the Hajj season of 1988, Iranian pilgrims carrying 94 suitcases with explosives were stopped at customs, but Saudi authorities chose not to publicize this fact in order to avoid inflaming the situation. On July 31, 1987, Iranian pilgrims in the Holy City of Mecca demonstrated and committed acts of violence in one of the holiest places of Islam. The wave of Iranians inspired and guided by Khomeini hurled rocks and other instruments at worshipers. Some of them had clubs and knives."<sup>7</sup> The Saudi government believed that the behavior of Iranian pilgrims violated the spiritual significance of the hajj, and tested their responsibility to protect Muslim sites and the security of the pilgrims (over 2 million) yearly. Iran's revolution presents a specific threat to the security of oil transit in the Gulf and through the Strait of Hormuz. At the same time in August 1990, when Iraq occupied Kuwait, Iran demanded for Iraqi withdraw from Kuwait which was considered a positive development for relationships between Saudi and Iranian countries and one which served regional interests.

- Yemen. Yemen lies to the south. It is the most populous state on the Arabian Peninsula with a population of 22 million. Yemen is the only country in the Arabian Peninsula that is not a member of the GCC but is part of the Arab League. It is very important for regional security. The population is considerably larger than Saudi Arabia. It is controlling the Red Sea route at Bab-al-Mandeb. Saudi Arabia is providing economic aid to Yemen. Major outstanding issues such as the demarcation of borders have not been resolved and this has contributed to more than one military confrontation along the joint border,

although tension is now easing significantly (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> Many official groups are meeting to solve the issue and approve it formally. "Relations with Yemen have improved steadily since the two countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding in February 1995."<sup>9</sup>

- Israel. It is on the northwest and is considered a major threat. They have modern equipment with nuclear and chemical capabilities. "Israel has the most advanced missile force of any country in the Middle East, holding the Jericho-II, whose range covers all targets in Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and Kuwait, plus portions of Saudi Arabia..."<sup>10</sup> Nuclear weaponry became a hot issue in 1991. "It represented the major threat perceived by the public, and support for development and use grew. Scenarios for the deployment of nuclear weaponry appeared to crystalize in the Israeli mind."<sup>11</sup> The Israeli Air Force is far superior in number and resources. They have very short flight times to Saudi targets. The failure to resolve the grievance of the Palestinians is the primary reason for political instability and conflict in the Middle East. The key points have an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Syrian Golan Heights which Israel occupied as a consequence of the June 1967 War, withdrawal from occupied Lebanese territory, the dismantling of exclusive Jewish settlements created by Israel in these territories since 1967. There must also be the eventual establishment of an independent Palestinian state consisting of Gaza Strip and the West Bank with East Jerusalem as its capital and compensation for Palestinians dispossessed of their lands and homes during the establishment of Israel in 1948. Saudi Arabia has supported the





*Territorial Disputes in the Persian Gulf Region.*

FIGURE 1

Middle East peace process since its inception at the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991, and has actively worked to advance the bilateral talks between the Arab parties and Israel. It has also participated through its delegations in the various working groups stemming from the multilateral talks. It is clear that further progress in the peace process will depend on fulfilling the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, any disregard of these rights will result in blocking the peace efforts.

- Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Weapons. Israel is the major threat of national security. "Until the Israelis are pressured to open the Dimona nuclear facility to inspection, nothing will be accomplished. It makes no sense for us to go on about the threat of an "Islamic Bomb" when Israel has hundreds of these weapons and the missiles to deliver them across the region."<sup>12</sup> Saudi Arabia has given great attention to efforts to remove the danger of weapons of mass destruction from the Middle East. It has worked to make this sensitive region of the world free of all weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical or biological. It is supporting for the efforts to eliminate the weapons of mass destruction from the Middle East.

- Threats to Internal Security. Saudi Arabia is a very important part of the Middle East. Its security concerns reflect the fact that the relations between regional states are very changeable. About six million foreign workers and their families live in Saudi Arabia. They are from many different countries and cultures. Each year about two million Muslim pilgrims come from abroad to visit holy places in Mecca

and Prophet's mosque in Madina during pilgrimage time. In addition, outside haj times, thousands of Muslims come daily to visit the holy places. These visits pose a major challenge to Saudi internal security especially in terms of threats from terrorist bombings and narcotics-related crimes. The Saudi Arabian government applies Islamic law in dealing with these crimes, which, though few in number, are an ever-present threat.

■ The security is a matter of survival for any state. It is the legitimate right of each and every country to defend itself and from alliances which it judges will best insure its national security and self-defense. This is provided for by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, as well as by the Joint Arab Defense Pact and Economic Cooperation Treaty signed in 1950. The current and future threats will come from within Middle East Regions. These threats will challenge Saudi's security and cause imbalance of population with neighboring countries, and weapons of mass destruction in Iran, Iraq and Israel.

There are mutual strategic interests with the world's industrial centers for maintaining the balance of costs and production of oil. These objectives will be achieved based on cooperation.

The cooperation between the International Community under the leadership of the United States of America is required for security and stability of the region as well as Saudi Arabia to guarantee oil flow as needed at reasonable prices and an open market and contracting. I see the main options to achieve these objectives as:

■ Options:

- Establish balance of power within the region.

Establish economic and political balance with countries that threaten regional stability and the industrial powers, especially the U.S., with military capabilities, including weapons of mass destruction, and with imbalances in population. This balance is expensive to achieve and maintain. To establish military balance will affect economic and social factors, especially their development. Seeking balance causes competition among the regimes in the region, which tends to increase hostility among the people of the region. The Kuwait crisis of 1990 is one example of this hostility. The friction between Iran and United Arab Emirates over the islands of the Arabian Gulf is another example. These frictions threaten long-term prospects for stability in the Gulf and for world economic stability as it relates to the oil trade. In the medium and short term, this balance will be good for Western companies and arms dealers, and for Western governments which are exporting military hardware to the region. These actions will increase hostility of the people of the region for Western countries.

- A policy of dual containment, of Iran and Iraq.

To freeze these two countries' economic and military growth and development would decrease the threats to regional stability. This action requires close coordination among all of the other regional powers, including the establishment of a UN and UN Security Council umbrella, similar to the one used after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. This option is also expensive, requiring foreign military presence in the area to make it a successful strategy. There is no guarantee that the international community will support this strategy, since many nations violated the sanctions against Iraq. For example,

North Korea, China and Russia all traded with Iraq and Iran because they needed hard currency. Also, the international black market will also make this strategy difficult to use. This policy also has the potential to fail since it targets the people more than the regime responsible for regional destabilization. Rather than improving stability, these economic sanctions increase the hostility of a population against both the West and other regional governments and people. Without economic development within countries such as Iran and Iraq, international terrorism will increase. This policy works for the short term, but in the medium and long-term prospect is not very effective.

- Establish a peace process in the region.

This strategy requires an international cooperation under the leadership of the U.S. to build peace among the Gulf nations and those on the Arabian Peninsula. The internal affairs of countries must not be disturbed, and three issues must be addressed. First, it is vital that the interests of all the region's countries be taken into consideration. Second, border disputes must be resolved. Third, the islands occupied by Iran must be returned to UAE. One great advantage of this option is that it will free money to develop the region economically and socially to match Western countries. Whereas many Western countries devote 1 or 2 per cent of their budget to military development, 40 per cent is not unusual in the Gulf.

■ Recommendations:

- Given these divisions in the region, and that the area holds 70 per cent of the world's oil reserves and important reserves of natural

gas, option 3, the peace process, obviously becomes the preferred approach to medium and long-term stability for the region, including Saudi Arabia. This approach holds the best hopes for all countries involved, the producers and the consumers. It builds the best and clearest political relationships. Especially, the people of the region will benefit from the stability, as will the consumer nations from the lowered volatility of the price of the commodities of the region.

- Besides this option, we must be concerned with continuing and improving the 60 years of good relations between Saudi Arabia and the U.S., by:

- U.S. clear sponsorship of Saudi Arabia in the international community.

- Technology transfer at reasonable cost, and U.S. business investment to build Saudi Arabian economic development.

- In the event of military threats against Saudi Arabia or in the region, President Truman told Saudi Arabia's King Abdul Aziz as early as 1950 that "no threat could arise to your Kingdom that would not be of immediate concern to the United States".<sup>13</sup> U.S. support of Saudi Arabia's self defense and regional stabilizing actions should be:

- In event of direct threat against Saudi Arabia, the Saudi Arabian government has the right to defend itself, and the role of the U.S. should be to support with advanced equipment and parts, and training without any cost or low cost to the state, similar to arrangements with Israel. Also, Saudi Arabia should be provided

information and intelligence in advance about threats. "A key objective of our policy in the Gulf is to reduce the chances that another aggressor will emerge who would threaten the independence of existing states. . . ."14

--In event of threats against any GCC countries, which lack geographic space and population to defend themselves, these threats must be treated as threats against Saudi Arabia.

--It is preferable for regional stability to use regional coalitions to fight threats, to avoid coalitions with Western powers, and to seek coalitions with countries more involved in the region, such as Egypt, Turkey, and Pakistan. Turkey has the advantage of allowing coordination with NATO. "Turkey could serve as a bridge between our regional allies and Western friends."15 These countries make a "belt" of stability around the region.

--In the event of serious or unexpected threats which these countries cannot deal with, the preferable approach to regional defense is a multinational force under the command of the U.S., and under the umbrella of the UN. The industrial countries must share the economic cost of the operation. "Someone would still have to provide the military means to undertake operations like Desert Storm. Neither Germany or Japan have this capability. Why should they take on themselves the cost of raising a huge military establishment when they have the United States to do it for them?"16

We have the belief in the power and victory of God. "If Allah helps you, none can overcome you, if he foresakes you, who is there after that that can help you? In Allah, then, let believers put their

trust."<sup>17</sup> We should do what God orders us to do to prepare to fight by using ours and our friends capabilities to protect our interests and promoting peace and stability on the region "against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into "the hearts of" the enemies, of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know."<sup>18</sup> Not attacking other countries, "fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress limits, for Allah loveth not transgressors."<sup>19</sup>

■ National Military Strategy. It is remarkably similar to the U.S.A. The King is commander in chief of the armed forces. Under his control are the following agencies.

- The National Security Council. The high defense council have formal responsibility for setting defense policy. Its members include the King, the National Guard Chief, the Ministers of Defense and Aviation, Interior, Foreign Affairs, and Finance and National Economy, and Chief of the General Directorate of Intelligence.
- Defense and Aviation Instruction. The Minister of Defense and Aviation exercises operational control and supervision of the main four services through a chief of the general staff (who performs duties similar to the U.S. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff). The total armed forces (four main services) strength is approximately 150,000 men.
- The Royal Saudi Land Forces (Army) has 70,000 soldiers organized into armored, airborne, mechanized infantry brigade, and aviation

battalion. They have a wide assortment of U.S. equipment.

Looking to the future 1990s will have 120,000. They will upgrade its armor forces with several hundred M1As Abrams tanks, and the M2A2 Bradley fighting vehicle system. The aviation command will have AH-64 Apache helicopters, and the field artillery command will have U.S. multiple launch rocket systems.

- The Royal Saudi Air Force has a strength of 20,000 men. They have E-3 AWACS and KE-3 tanker aircraft support and an array of tactical fighter aircraft which include U.S. F-15 C/D/S, FSB/E/F, RF-5 and British Tornados. Looking to the future during the 1990s, they will increase manpower and have more fighting aircraft such as Tornados and F15Es.
- The Royal Saudi Naval Forces with about 10,000 men (including Marines) is similarly outfitted with an assortment of western equipment (U.S., France, Britain, and Spain).
- The Royal Saudi Air Defense Forces is a separate service with a personnel of 16,000 men. It is organized into six air defense groups. Each group responsible for the defense of a specific geographic area with close coordination with the Air Force command through command and control central (C3) systems. Air Defense uses different kinds of systems -- AAA short, medium, and long range missiles from the U.S. (Stingers, HAWK, Patriot) and mistral missile French armament.
- National Guard. It has 60,000 active and 25,000 reserve. It is comprised of two mechanized and six brigades and one ceremonial cavalry squadron. The National Guard chief exercises operational

control. It is totally a separate entity from the Ministry of Defense. Their mission is internal security, mainly to protect vital points of oil facilities and some embassies and supporting ministry of interior. During the Gulf War the National Guard was integrated into a joint forces command. U.S. and Britain provided equipment and training in the field.

- Ministry of Interior Instruction. It consists of The Frontier Forces and Coast Guard. The Frontier Forces (5,000 men) patrolled land borders and the Coast Guard (15,000 men) deployed its units from ports along the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea with a primary mission to prevent smuggling. The Special Security Force (1,500 men) are a special weapons assault team. All those forces report to the Minister of Interior. They are supporting the main armed forces in the back area of the theater.

- Cooperation With Allied Countries. Saudi Arabia is part of the world. It is the world's most important oil producer (exporting and reserve). It is the heart of the Islamic world and geographic location. It has cooperation with most of the world countries as:

- The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The Gulf Cooperation Council was formed in November 25, 1981 by Saudi Arabia. The small Arab oil-producing states along its eastern flank have been historically close (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates) and they, along with Saudi Arabia, comprise the regional collective security and economic organization. The original objective of the organization was to protect Gulf States from the threat posed by the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War in September 1980. No single GCC

member has the potential to build a force strong enough to defend itself and its neighbors against threats from one or more of the potentially hostile powers close to our borders. The GCC is also concerned about other regional countries, such as Iran and Iraq, involvement with regional terrorism.

- Arab Nationalism. Saudi Arabia is of the founding member of the League of Arab States. The politics of Arab nationalism has been as important a factor in Saudi foreign policy as have issues of regional security. The relations with other Arab states have been directly influenced by Arab nationalism concerns. In the view of Saudi Arabia all twenty two of Arabian countries should strive for solidarity on major regional and international issues, respect the individual political and social differences of each Arab country, and refrain from interference in one another's internal affairs.

- Islam. Islam is a main factor that influenced Saudi foreign policy. Solidarity with Muslim countries is an important objective. Saudi Arabia is the heart of the Islamic world. It is the home of two of Islam's holy sanctuaries (Makkah and Madinah). It is an Islamic state based on principles prescribed by the Quran, the Holy Book of Islam, and the Sunnah (teachings and sayings of the Prophet Mohamad). The Quran is the constitution of Saudi Arabia. It is one of the founding members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

- The United States. This relationship is very important for Saudi national security and economic stability in the industrial world, and to keep communist influence away from the Middle East during the Cold War. "The United States would assist, through the use

of its armed forces if necessary, any country or group of countries threatened by international communism."<sup>20</sup> The cooperation started in the 1930s, when oil was discovered in Saudi Arabia by American companies. The military cooperation started in 1943 during the War II. The U.S. used Dhahran air base as a staging area for resupply of U.S. forces in the Asia theater. In February 1945 President Roosevelt and King Abdulaziz met in the Suez Canal and determined the strategic relationship between the two countries. When Saudi Arabia was threatened in 1962 by war in Yemen, the U.S. government reinforced its commitment to the Kingdom by deploying F-100 aircraft. This kept foreign powers from intervening and supporting the Yemen forces. United States Military Training Mission (USMTM) has been operating in Saudi Arabia since 1950. It has management responsibility for the vast majority of almost \$76 billion in foreign military sales (FMS) cases Saudi Arabia has with the U.S. "Commercial sales of weaponry and military equipment and funds for training foreign military personnel enhance stability by enabling countries in the region to improve their defensive capabilities in a balanced, controlled manner. At the same time, security assistance (Armed Sales) provides interoperability with U.S. and other coalition partners."<sup>21</sup> During the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988, Iran's navy attacked oil tankers and mines laid in the Gulf to block oil shipments to the industrial countries. The United States and Saudi Arabia cooperated to clear Iranian mines from the Gulf and carried out surveillance of air and water traffic through the Gulf and intercepted Iranian aircraft and speedboats threatening Saudi oil fields and facilities.

During Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait in August 1990, the successful cooperation between the two countries brought the weight of the world's public opinion and law to bear against Iraq, mobilizing an international coalition to implement U.N. Security Council resolutions and liberate Kuwait. More than 450,000 U.S. troops with their equipment and major units participated with many countries as coalition forces to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi troops. This cooperation is useful for Saudi security strategy and for U.S. interests. Although separated by thousands of miles, and the relation endured despite strains caused by differences over Israel. "The Arab-Israeli conflict put U.S.-Saudi friendship to a severe test."<sup>22</sup> They are joined by a history of mutual respect, common interest, and shared principles. The relationship has been nurtured by a concern for global peace and regional stability and has encompassed bilateral trade, cultural exchange and technical cooperation.

- Cooperation with the Industrial World. Saudi Arabia is the world's most important oil producer. It has become a "swing producer" balancing international oil demands, supply and prices. The Saudi objective is sustaining long term oil consumption and ensuring economic stability in the industrialized world. "By adjusting its production, Saudi Arabia can drive up the oil price -- as it did in 1973 -- or make it plummet, which it did in 1985. Or it can keep the price level as now."<sup>23</sup> It has, with all industrial countries, significant trade. Many of them, such as the United Kingdom and France sell military equipment. China's rapid economic growth will make it a formidable military power. It will, in the coming years,

become a large customer for Saudi oil, maybe laying the basis for a future security partnership between the two countries as with other countries as happened when Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait in August 1990 and posed a grave threat to Saudi Arabian security.

■ Conclusion. Military operations cannot be separated from political and economic considerations. If the threat is to be avoided, the military needs to be informed about politics and economic strength. While the political leadership needs to give truthful and accurate information about the capability of its own armed forces, we need to devote more resources to studying and understanding the capabilities and intentions of our neighbors. We have to rely on very detailed knowledge of the enemy. Military commanders and planners need to maintain close relations with the civilian sectors of the economy to update its inventory of national resources and plan for modern infrastructure as seaports, airports, roads, trail roads, refineries, fuel, pipelines, desalination plants, and other economic aspects. It is the first importance and will be required during military operations in the future. It is very important to know how to deal with national and international media and public opinions.

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